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QUIBUSNAM PRÆCIPUE DE CAUSIS EXORTUM
SIT BELLUM CIVILE AMERICANUM.

ORATIO LATINA
IN THEATRO SHELDONIANO,

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“γίνονται αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν.” — Aristotle.

“A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, political or moral, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.” — *Jefferson.*

IN rebus hodiernis tractandis quum id potissimum scriptori ^{i. Introduction.} obsit, quod studia inter contraria, rumores varios, atque ipsam materiæ abundantis turbam veræ facillime oculantur rationes, falsæ in promptu sint: optandum sane fuisse, hanc potuisse de bello Americano quæstionem in aliud tempus differri, maxime nunc hodierni sermonis levitate distractam, in quo nihil certum, omnia contraria ac confusa appareant. Alii etenim inter nos tanti motus causas prorsus se profitentur ignorare^a, alii Americanorum utique ruinam popularisque reipublicæ irridentes speciem magni populi pro libertate contra intolerabile Septentrionalium imperium pugnantis fingunt stupentque: pauci, quotidianas hodiernæ ignorantiae ineptias ægre ferentes, mirantur qua fronte studiosa liber-

^a Times, Sept. 19, 1861, “Never were the causes of a great struggle more inscrutable.”

tatis gens servitutem aperte laudare atque armis defendere audeat^b.

Ergo, quoniam inter præsentia frustra quæritur veritas, ad præterita recurrendum est, repetendumque quæ dissidii causæ Reipublicæ Americanæ ab initio subessent, quæ postea accreverint. Tristis rerum species et mæsti plena augurii. Intra octoginta annos optima forma reipublicæ et in conjunctionem concordiamque plurimarum civitatum unice nata morbo insanabili præcipitans: discordia identidem inter civitates erumpens, fictis toties sanata remediis: contra improbitatem atrocem imbecilla aut sopita virtus: depravati mores, corrupta religio: optimus quisque in desperationem mersus: consilia Reipublicæ ad pravæ factionis libidinem directa: vastatæ servili cultu terræ, novæ injustis acquisitæ bellis: aueta inde Reipublicæ simul speciosa magnitudo, simul dissensionum semina: violatæ elusæque leges, perversa judicia: donec gliscens indies malum jam laboranti per molem suam reipublicæ intolerabile populos moribus, religione, cupidinibus diu inde diversissimos e ficta concordiæ specie in atrox certamen projicit.

Early
Union of
the States
under the
Articles of
Confederation, 1778-
1781.

Quum primum Americani, libertate parta, e bello respirassent, fessi certamine, fracti opibus ac fide, inter discordiam ruinamque imminentem frustra supremam illam quærebant auctoritatem, quæ sola ægrotam et desperatam prope rempublicam sanare posset. Quippe inter civitates sub rudiore^c ac præmatura Foederatae Reipublicæ forma in bellum metu conjunctas absente jam periculo nulla concordia, nulla communis

^b See especially the speech of Mr. A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Southern Confederation, quoted in Mrs. Stowe's letter to the Daily News of Jan. 9th, 1863, in which Slavery is trumpeted as the great political discovery of modern times, and the "head-stone of the corner" of the Southern Confederacy.

^c The Articles of Confederation gave the Congress power only over States, not over individuals. See Federalist, Nos. XV, XVI. Bernard, Lectures on the American War, Lect. ii. Freeman, History of Federal Government, ch. ii. Mill, Representative Government, ch. xvii. and De Tocqueville.

imperii obedientia. Reipublicæ istius vitium facile appareat: Weakness
quæ quum communi Concilio super civitates solum, non cives, of the Ar-
auctoritatem dedisset, revera ei nihil nisi commendandi mo-
nendique potestatem, civitatibus singulis omnia ad libidinem
tractanda reliquerit. Confederation.

Coërcendi civitates nisi per vim nulla Concilio facultas: vim autem, invidis libertatis amatoribus intolerandam, neque habuit nec sperare poterat. Nova itaque Respublica ac nova potestas quærebatur, quæ auctoritate^d super singulos cujusque civitatis incolas exercenda unum populum patriamque e pluribus conficeret, legibus iisdem ac jure commune imperium sanciret, concordiam inter cives præstaret, contra hostes præsidium. Summo tandem ingenio nova illa Fœderatæ Reipublicæ forma inventa est, per tot annos externis miraculum, inter ipsos Americanos pro divina pæne habita: nobilis^e atque inaudita Civitatum societas uno imperio parentium, quâ solâ viderentur varia terrarum genera, egregii Americæ fructus, Its merits. flumina innumerabilia, maria lacusque maximi inter se posse connecti: mercatura iisdem legibus una facta in justam amplitudinem crescere: vicinarum parvarumque civitatum pusilla consilia, odia ac dissensiones evitari^f, vivax industria et alacritas in res magnas converti; seditiones mutuo auxilio comprimi, cohiberi singulorum ambitio, hostium vis aut artes uno animo arceri, cum summa libertate conjungi legum veneratio, comparari bona omnia quæ respublica popularis, omnia quæ unius imperium habeat: mirandum sane ac speciosum opus, tamen contra hominum improbitatem impotens, qui latentia discordiarum semina alere maluerint quam evellere.

Inspicienti etenim Americanorum leges appareat primum Its weak-
hoc vitium, quod in quo loco summum sit imperium frustra nesses.

^d See the authorities quoted above.

^e The advantages of a Federal Government are drawn out in a passage of Montesquieu, quoted by the Federalist, No. IX, and also discussed fully in the first numbers of the Federalist.

^f Tocqueville (Reeve's Translation), vol. i. p. 181.

1. Uncertainty
where the supreme authority lies.

Different theories as to its nature.

Nullification. Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798-1799.

Rebellion of South Carolina, 1832.

quæras. Quamvis enim concedatur, certos inter fines imperium Reipublicæ, inter certos Civitatibus datum esse, hoc tamen ab initio fere rerum Americanarum disceptatum est, unde tandem Reipublicæ ea auctoritas commissa sit: quum alii foedus tantum inter civitates initum affirment, quo rupta Rempublicam quoque jure dissolvi: alii leges sibi a toto Americanorum populo, omissa Civitatum auctoritate, impositas, quas ad libidinem violare nulli Civitati liceat. Et frustra quidem inter præsentia egregia Austini^g subtilitas adhibetur, summam auctoritatem legumque exercendarum potestatem in collecto ex omnibus Civitatibus concilio inesse affirmantis; quum Meridionales jam a cæteris disjuncti legem nusquam esse dicant, vel in foedus redire recusantes, Septentrionalesque amissum imperium ira impotenti nequidquam reclament.

Neque inaudita hæc Meridionalium licentia: quin vix jam decem annos nata inter cives suos Respublica hostes inquisitos experiebatur, quum^h duæ civitates contra leges quasdam temerarias incensæ cum turpi Jeffersonii auxilio magistratum jussa aperto contemptu reprehendere audebant, exemplum proponentes auctori quidem in honestum laudandum vero posteris, qui easdem identidemⁱ sententias, fertilem discordiarum debilitatisque causam, prodebant. Præcipue eas confirmarunt Carolinenses, anno post natam Rempublicam fere quadragesimo, qui per Calhounium publice dicerent cuique

^g The question where the supreme authority resides in the United States Government is ably discussed by Austin, in the last lecture on the "Province of Jurisprudence Determined," pp. 218-222.

^h Virginia and Kentucky. Jefferson, having instigated them to annul the decrees of the Federal Government, dared not, twenty-three years after the event, avow the part he had taken, except in a private letter to a friend. See De Witt, "Thomas Jefferson," pp. 250, 251. See also "A Short View of the Administration of the United States under Washington, Adams, and Jefferson," by Henderson, London, 1802.

ⁱ "That the Constitution is a federative compact was asserted by the Legislature of Kentucky in 1797-98, of Virginia in 1798, Georgia in 1825, Virginia in 1829, South Carolina in 1827 and 1833, North Carolina in 1837." Bernard, Lectures on the American War, Lect. ii. p. 60, note.

licere Civitati Reipublicæ leges ad arbitrium suum interpretari^k. Vana scilicet Civitatibus conjunctionis spes, vanum legis auxilium, quarum quævis possit societatem auctoritatatemve cæterarum ad libidinem renunciare.

Notanda deinde singularum Civitatum vis atque ambitione, maximus turbarum fons. Mira quidem subtilitas, qua Americani Reipublicæ Civitatumque auctoritates tam juste definiverint. Quæ ad externas res pertinent munera, Reipublicæ data: quæ ad internas, civitatibus fere reicta^l. Hoc quum solum sit, quod tot civitates sub unam auctoritatem possit conjungere, habet tamen maximam summi imperii infirmitatem. Americanos duplex regit potestas, Civitatum altera, altera Reipublicæ. His quum inter se connexis res geratur, interdum configant necesse est. Tum Respublica mille modis infirma in certamen prodit^m: quum primum civitas quasi patria Americani cujusque omnem ejus amorem ambitionemque in se attraxerit, Respublica majora quidem sed externa plerumque et longinquiora tractans paucorum animos tangat: tum per pauca Reipublicæ munera paucisque ministris concessa, innumerabilia fere Civitatibus maximoque in iis magistratum numero, ut privata cujusque ambitio facile in angusto Civitatis orbe exerceatur; præsertim quum ad gratiam atque honores cuivis ambitioso statim via pateat, si modo se iniquo Reipublicæ imperio dixerit hostilem. Porro rebellanti Civitati præsto omnia, arma, duces, viri, atque

2. Danger
of State
aggression.

Complexity
of the
Federal
system.
Advan-
tages which
the State
Govern-
ment have
over the
Federal
Govern-
ment.

^k This is the essence of the doctrine of “ Nullification.” “ The Constitution is a compact to which the States were parties in their sovereign capacity; now, whenever a compact is entered into by parties which acknowledge no tribunal above their authority to decide in the last resort, each of them has a right to judge for itself in relation to the nature, extent, and obligations of the instrument.” Calhoun, quoted by Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 492.

^l This principle is called by Jefferson the “ Key” to the attributes of the different Governments. De Witt, p. 189.

^m The dangers to be apprehended from the encroachment of the State Governments are fully set forth in the Federalist, Nos. XVII, XLV, and XLVI; also see Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 486.

etiam publicas copias, si adsint, rapiendi facultas, auxiliumque a cæteris quoque Civitatibus invocandi, quod illæ præ sua in summam auctoritatem invidia mox sint allaturæ, si a Reipublicæ magistratibus vis in defectores adhibeatur. Gravissimum denique restat periculum, ne res suas quiete tractandi rara sit Reipublicæ occasio, cuius concilia ac deliberationes Civitates semper possint ab externis gravioribusque rebus ad sua negotia per legatos deflectere.

3. Extent of territory. Accedit regionis magnitudo^m, quæ quum in omni civitate firmo ac perpetuo imperio maxime obsit, in Americanis distracthendis singularem vim habuit. Ibi jam per quinquaginta fere annos duo revera populi ac natura moribusque diversissimi sub uno imperio degere tentaverunt, quorum alter servilis culturæ necessitatibus, alter per cupidinem et crescente civium multitudine, ad terram acquirendam impulsus sit. Meridionalibus una spe semper unoque consilio conjunctis crescens indies super novas terras dominatio miram vim contra Septentrionales dedit, qui ipsi inter se variis tot tantarumque Civitatum studiis divisi tumescentem Meridionalium auctum neque impedire potuerint neque comprimere, præsertim quum in populo exercitus, nisi bello premente, intolerantissimo nulla fuerint magistratibus arma, quibus vel modicam regionem devincent. Per quæ accidit ut regionis moles, quam primiⁿ Reipublicæ defensores impedimento fore factionibus frustra sperarent, ipsa potentissimam factionem atque teterimam maxime aluerit.

This danger especially increased by the necessities of the South.

ii. Actual causes of division.

Et jam ad causas pergendum, unde unius factionis vires in tantum creverint.

^m Tocqueville insists on the extent of territory as a cause of weakness, in his chapter on the "Chances of the Duration of the Union;" but does not take into consideration the aggravation of the danger by the hunger for new territory entailed by slave labour.

ⁿ The Federalist, No. XI, argues that a wide extent of territory will tend to prevent factions, because the number of interests brought together will be so great, that no one of them will be able to override the others.

In condenda Americanorum^o republica una labes in ipso Slavery.
How regarded
and how circum-
stanced at
the founda-
tion of the
Republic. libertatis sinu apparens optimum quemque odio ac terrore commovebat. In unaquaque fere civitate adhuc existebat Afrorum servitium, inter Septentrionales pro vitio quam celer-
rime recidendo habitum, inter Meridionales pro malo tamen necessario, quorum cultui liberorum labor haud aptior esset. Quippe sub calidore cœlo et inter homines otio assuetos^p diffi-
cilior labor nisi compulso, segetesque eæ servili labore melius colebantur quibus Meridionalis terra quam quibus Septentrionalis tum maxime florebat. Ergo Septentrionales, quorum ad culturam provehendam servilis labor vel maxime esset incom-
modus, omnes fere liberabant servos, quorum alii domi re-
stantes dubio libertatis munere inter dominos priores con-
tempti ac miseri fruebantur, alii Meridionalibus venibant,
nova experturi vincula, laborisque odium cum servitii amore dominorum animis aucturi. Ita, quum ad supplendam operam libera multitudo irrueret, servitium inter Septentrionales ob-
solescens in Meridionales defluere, quibus morbum jam satis difficilem mox insanabilem redderet. Quæ pericula eam rerum conditionem assequerentur, in qua unum genus hominum alteri moribus atque etiam colore diverso subiectum esset, providebat bene Jeffersonius, quum verum urgere remedium timeret^q; qui ultra questus progredi vix ausus, tandem su-
premos inter annos celerem Dei ultionem et res Virginiae per servitutem lapsas acri cum dolore ac desperatione spectaret, Timidity of
Jefferson
in dealing
with slav-
ery in Vir-
ginia. pessimum illud jam accidisse videns, quod ipse inani trepi-

^o That all American statesmen were united in their hatred of slavery at the time of the foundation of the Republic, is admitted even by the South at present. See also Webster's speech of March 7, 1850, in the fifth volume of his works; and a "History of Slavery in the United States," Times, Jan. 4, 1861.

^p Tocqueville, vol. i. pp. 434-448. The causes usually alleged for the rapid spread of slavery in the South are discussed in Cairnes's "Slave Power," ch. ii.

^q "A ce fléau public, Jefferson n'a su opposer que de bonnes intentions." De Witt, p. 123. Jefferson's cowardice is well exposed in the Letters quoted pp. 124 and 125.

datione esset ominatus. Atque omnes servitium eo tempore pro maxima morum prosperitatisque peste habuisse testantur maximi cujusque Americani verba, ac præcipue lex illa^r duos ante Rempublicam conditam annos lata, qua servitium ab omni regione, quæ tum penes Americanos esset, cum pleno omnium Civitatum consensu in perpetuum excluderetur.

Ordinance
of 1787,
under the
old Con-
federacy.

Early
differences
between
the slave
and free
States.

Slavery,
how dealt
with in the
Constitu-
tion
question
whether
slaves were
men or
things.

Three
fifths of
the slave
population
counted as

In Republica condenda Americanis, etiam tum in studia contraria partim cœli diversitate, præcipue autem servitio^s distractis, quod Septentrionales sensim in Meridionalium humeros transferrent, ea maxima erat cura, ut servitus extingueretur, habita simul juris Meridionalium præsentisque necessitatis ratione. At viri, quos vel nomen servorum tabulis suis inscribere puderet^t, rem hærentem non temere executiebant. In legibus faciendis prima angebat difficultas, hominesne essent servi an res^u. Servi in vectigalibus distribuendis pro sex decumis civium cunctorum computati erant. Sed quum domus Delegatorum secundum hominum in quaque civitate numerum constitueretur, rursus de natura eorum disceptabatur. Contendunt Meridionales homines esse in opum comparatione vivacissimos ideoque in censu populi computandos: Septentrionales pro rebus semper, nisi in re vectigali, tractatos hominum numerum, mutata natura, non posse augere. Pax inter certantes tandem facta, constituto servos, in numero incolarum cujusque civitatis computando, pro sex decumis civium cunctorum censendos esse, veluti quum de vec-

^r See Webster's speech of March 7th, 1850. Calhoun regarded this Ordinance as the first of a long series of measures calculated to enfeeble the South.

^s Madison, quoted by the Times, "History of Slavery:" "The States were divided into different interests, not by difference of size, but by other circumstances, the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but chiefly from the effects of their having or not having slaves." See also Henderson, "Short View," &c. De Witt, p. 122.

^t The name of *slave* never occurs in the Constitution. The slaves are called "other persons." The Confederates, in drawing up their Constitution, have not been so scrupulous. See Art. i. sect. 9. and Art. iv. sect. 2.

^u Times, "History of Slavery," quoted above.

tigalibus ageretur. Ita quum in Senatu omnibus Civitatibus, part of the population of the Slave States, for purposes of taxation and representation.
sive maiores essent sive minores, eadem daretur potestas, in domo Delegatorum facta servorum humanitas iniquam vim Meridionalibus addebat ^x, constitutumque in posterum servum hominem nunquam esse nisi cum domini intersit.

Cautum etiam in iisdem legibus “ne quisquam in labore in quavis Civitate nexus, si in aliam civitatem effugisset, posset a nexu solvi: utque statim flagitante domino in nexum redderetur.” Talis lex, quæ omnibus Civitatibus servos tenuitibus esset necessaria, quantam postea Septentrionalibus attulerit injuriam servitio extincto, quum ad seriora ventum erit indicabimus ^y.

Porro provisum ne post viginti annos ab anno conditæ Rei- publicæ computandos servi ab Africa in Americam importa- rentur. Ita frustra sperabatur servitium extinctum iri, dum Carolinensibus Georgiensibusque in præsens consuleretur.

Nam servituti, quam ab omnibus fere invisam leges oppri- mendam curabant, inopinata veniebant auxilia ^z. Primum gossypii culturam, antea in insulis adjacentibus tantum notam, nova ars ita provexit ut Americano etiam solo apta redderetur et fecundissima lucri causa, quod e nihilo fere in subitum inauditumque auctum proveniret. Porro paucis post annis immensa illa regio, cui tum Louisiana nomen, de Gallis empta est ac statim servitio tradita, e qua postea tres Civitates factæ sunt. Hic primus Americanis malorum fons: tum primum ¹⁸⁰³ servitio nova apparebat opportunitas, novæ spes, quibus indies gliscens mox in tantum crevit, ut Meridionales inter se contra Septentrionales conjungeret, dominos eorum primum futuros,

^x Miss Martineau, “History of the American Compromises,” pp. 1-5, exposes well the injustice entailed by this measure. The Federalist, No. LIV, regards the compromise with complacency.

^y Inf. p. 32, 33.

^z Henderson, “Short View,” &c. p. 62, note. Cairnes, “Slave Power,” chap. vii.

deinde hostes. Haud absonum ergo erit hoc in loco repetere quæ servilis culturæ natura, quæ necessitates; quæ bona, quæ mala habeat: quas inter servilis regionis incolas atque liberae gignat morum diversitates: quo melius inde ad cætera progre-
diamur, discordiarum nempe inter Meridionales Septentriona-
lesque historiam, quæ continuo cursu nunc erumpentes nunc
oppressæ duos tandem ex uno populos effecerit.

Cultivation
of cotton
peculiarly
adapted for
slavery.

Economi-
cal side of
slavery.

Its ad-
vantages.

Its defects,
reluctance,
rudeness,
and uni-
formity of
slave-la-
bour,

Gossypii cultura, si quæ alia, servili operaæ aptissima^b, quæ merum labore, nullam fere artem requirat, in qua possis mulieribus quoque ac pueris uti, liceatque uni domino magnas hominum greges in unum finem dirigere, quod in hordeo triticoque colendo fieri non potest. Accedit quod terræ gossypio aptissimæ, fluminibus ferme proximæ, nisi Africano generi in-
salubres videntur. Quæcunque igitur commoda, quæcunque incommoda, servorum labor habet, in hoc maxime cultu provecta invenies. Commoda ejus brevia et paucis comprehendenda verbis: infinita in servos potestas, in lata regione excolenda summus ordo, unum domini consilium, impensa in præsens parva, fructus maximi: quæ tamen omnia per liberorum^c laborem non æque posse percipi, frustra negatum est.

Quæ etiam ad quæstum habeat incommoda, facile intelligas, maxima alacritatis impedimenta in ignavia ac tarditate hominum ad rudissimum invisumque opus sub flagello compulsortum: servorum ignorantiam, quos vel ab elementis doctrinæ præclusos frustra novi aliquid docere tentes aut ad novas artes convertere, unde domini frustra negligentiam stuporemque hominum queruntur^d, quos ipsi pro virili in pecudes converterint: tum quod summum est, et quod rerum Americanarum cursum prope unice explicat, necessarium agri

^b The advantages and disadvantages of slave-labour are well set forth by Cairnes's "Slave-Power," ch. ii. and iii. Also see Olmsted, "Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom," vol. ii. ch. vii.

^c Olmsted, as above.

^d "You can make a nigger work, but you cannot make him think." Olmsted. Quoted by Cairnes.

fertilissimi usum, quum nisi fertilissimus tam rudi culturæ requires
 nunquam responsurus sit, allatamque ei rapide sub cultu ^{the most}
 nunquam mutato sterilitatem, unde dominos nova semper ^{fertile}
 necessitas in terras semper vastandas impellit. Tristissima ^{land,}
 inde nunc per quasdam Meridionalium civitates terrarum ^{and an un-}
^{limited} species^e: agri quondam uberrimi in vastas solitudines ^{supply of}
 con- ^{it.}
 veni: gramina ac pinus pusillæ in ditissima olim regione vix
 florentes: domus laboris quondam prosperitatisque sedes a
 servis habitatæ aut in ruinam lapsæ, et qua multæ vigebant
 familiæ, sterilis unius dominatio: dirum denique præmaturi
 senii ac vastitatis incumbens spectaculum, ubi quinquaginta
 ante annos vix securis audita esset.

His servitii necessitatibus impulsi Meridionales quomodo
 quibusque freti auxiliis potestatem suam stabiliverint aux- ^{Moral and}
 erintque, postea apparebit: nunc ea morum conditio per- ^{social}
 stringenda, quæ populum servili cultu fretum libero populo ^{effects of}
 contrarium hostilemque reddiderit. ^{slavery.}

Quum servili culturæ lata terrarum spatia melius quam ^{Distribu-}
 parva respondeant, maximeque ideo intersit dominorum, ut ^{tion of}
 possessiones augeantur, fit ut in ditiorum^f pauciorumque ^{property}
 manus agri magis magisque indies cadant. Hinc inter ^{in slave}
 dominos servosque tertium oritur hominum genus, qui liberi ^{States.}
 tamen inopes agros servosque mercari nequeunt, labore pro ^{Three}
 servili dedianter. In triplici describenda populi Meridio- ^{classes of}
 nalis specie a servis incipiendum, quorum status cæterorum ^{inhabit-}
 conditioni quasi fundamento sit. Et primum quidem, quo ^{ants.}
 clarius appareat hodiernorum in hac re atrocitas, antiquorum
 respiciamus servitium, quas ab Americano isto habeat diver- ^{Ancient}
 sitates. ^{and mod-}
^{er}

Imprimis^g servis antiquorum idem ac dominis genus aut ^{slavery}
^{compared.}

^e See the account of Madison County, Alabama, in Olmsted, "Journeys," &c.
 vol. ii. ch. viii. p. 297, &c.

^f Olmsted, *ibid.*

^g For these differences between ancient and modern slavery, see Cairnes,
 ch. iv. and Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 424, &c.

Points to the disadvantage of modern slavery. non adeo diversum, ut libertinorum pueri ullum servitii dedecus retinerent: nostris unum et distinctum^h genus atque suus etiam color, quem stirpi Africanæ natura quasi notam æternam inusserit, ut ne liberatis quidem et inter Septentrionales odium atque contemptus dominorum minuatur, aequalitatem generis magis horrentium cuius olim servitutem conculcaverint: tum inter antiquos servilem conditionem sæpe aut tollebat libertas, aut leniebat libertatis spes, ut neque perpetuum malum esset ac miscendoⁱ sensim cum dominis servitio metus amborum atque odium levaretur: servum Americanum si velis liberare, tentato sæpe fortasse longa et invicta legum impedimenta desperatus tandem ad vitæ exitum^k quereris: neque Græcos Romanosque infanda illa mercatura adeo dedecorabat, quæ inexhaustum servorum numerum suppeditans simul securitatem ac divitias dominorum, simul sævitiam ac negligentiam augeat, servis inauditas miserias, dirupta domicilia, perpetuum exsilium, cœlum insalubre, nimios labores, fugas, venationes, ignem flagellumque afferat: neque excogitarant antiqui, qui servis omnes fere delicias debentes varias illos docerent artes, nova illa vincula^l, quibus nostri mentes etiam servorum tentaverint opprimere. Americanis sane ignoscendum stuporem hostium cupientibus, quorum ingenio non egeant.

Strangling of the intellect. Unparalleled brutality of modern slavery. Omnia ergo quæcumque esse possunt servitii mala Christiani spectamus, in hac sane re a rudi antiquitate ad pejora

^h The dangers of having a number of slaves of the same race are pointed out in Plato, Laws, p. 777. *λέπεται . . . μὴ πατριώτας εἶναι ἀλλήλων τοὺς μέλλοντας ῥάσον δουλεύσειν.*

ⁱ See Congreve, "Politics of Aristotle," Essay I.

^k See the case mentioned by Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 454.

^l Ordinance of Louisiana, 1830: "All persons who shall teach or cause to be taught any slave in this State to read or write shall upon conviction thereof be imprisoned not less than one nor more than twelve months." See also the Act of South Carolina, 1834, quoted by Cairnes, ch. iv. Similar Acts exist in Alabama, Virginia, and Georgia.

delapsi: in sinu Reipublicæ ad libertatem natæ homines hominibus quæstus causa foedissime subjectos, et in bestiarum prope subactos conditionem: quorum vitæ quasi pecudum^m sævorum hominum negligentia committuntur, nullum habituræ in legibus auxilium, cum servi testimonium non accipitur: quos inter dominosque rarus amor, terror perpetuusⁿ ac nunquam fere levatur: quibus corporum etiam cura ignavia dominorum interdum negligatur, animi gravissimis legum pænis vel ab elementis literarum præcludantur, id tantum curantibus dominis, ut quam paucissime periclitentur beneficio conferendo^o: qui miseris exciti superstitionibus veram fere amiserint religionem^p, ne nomen quidem ejus saepius audituri quam dominorum metu præscriptum sit: quorum in moribus pudor prope connubiique jura incognita^q, cesserit abjecto timori fortitudo, mendacio veritas, malevolentia amor, boni affectus fere oppressi sint: quibus meliorum nulla spes, nulla ambitio, ignotum patriæ, reipublicæ, humanitatis nomen: quibus de hominum numero abjectis^r

^m "I wouldn't mind killing a nigger more than I would a dog."—See the account of the conversation with an overseer. Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. v.; also a quotation from the New Orleans Daily Crescent (*ibid.*) "Mr. Tighman Cobb's barn at Bedford, Va. was set fire to by lightning, on Friday, and consumed. *Two negroes and three horses perished in the flames.*"

ⁿ "The overseers have always to go about armed." Olmsted, *ibid.*

^o See the case related in Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. ix. "A master killed in consequence of having been too confiding and merciful. The negro is roasted at a slow fire."

^p Read the Remonstrance addressed to a Methodist clergyman by the Conference of S. Carolina. "Verbal instruction will increase the desire of the black population to learn. Open the missionary sluice, and the current will swell in its gradual onward advance. We thus expect a progressive system of improvement will be introduced, which if not checked (though it may be shrouded in sophistry and disguise) will ultimately revolutionize our civil institution." Quoted by Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. v.

^q Olmsted, *ibid.*

^r "The dogma, the single assumption, the sole elementary foundation falsehood, that a negro is a black man." Day-book, quoted by Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. viii. p. 277.

stupor optimus, quum sentientibus nihil nisi desperatio in prospectu sit et insania dominorum, servili generi æterna vineula divinitus instituta^s esse dictitans armisque in perpetuum defendenda. Fœda species et quæ iram Dei, hominum terrorem jure moveat, et cuius levandæ spes nulla, quum multitudo servorum indies crescens miserias eorum cum dominorum metu indies augeat.

The master's supposed advantages of Slavery in giving leisure for mental cultivation.

Circumstances which efface these in America.

Sunt qui hanc servorum conditionem defendant, liberis eam optime conducere affirmantes, quibus scilicet artibus colendis tempus atque opportunitates addat, operum mercenariorum contemptum cultumque liberaliorem præbeat. Neque enim negandum est, Græcorum illam liberalitatem sordidique operis odium servitutem maxime fulsisse, si etiam inter philosophos simul opinionem crearet, barbaros Græcorum natura esse servos. At inter Americanos alia rerum conditio; neque Natura, flagello atque igne e servis expulsa, se per dominos ulcisci oblita est. Quum enim in servi usum, ab omni arte exclusi, nihil nisi meras necessitates^t dominus emere cogatur, neque nisi ditissimis copia sit voluptates sibi parandi, rariores per Meridionalem regionem atque acquisitu difficiliores vitæ deliciæ quam ubi per laboris alacritatem divitiarumque copiam cuivis pateant, ab omnibus cupiantur. Adde quod ubi ditissimus quisque in servorum numero quæstum maximum atque decus ponit, rara cupido nova commoda acquirendi, rarior facultas: vitæ politioris materies nisi paucissimis abest, et plerique in miseram paupertatem precariamve fortunam merguntur.

Difficulty of obtaining education.

Laboris ubique et mercaturæ summus contemptus: nec tamen literarum cultu compensatur, quum in populo tenui

^s See the Secession Ordinance of Louisiana, quoted by Ludlow. "History of the United States from Independence to Secession," p. 303. "Fully convinced as we are, that slavery is the most humane of all existing servitudes, that it is in obedience to the laws of God," &c.

^t See Ludlow, p. 150-155.

ac disperso ludos^k rarissime reperias, nullique fere cupiant tion in a
spare and
generally
poor popu-
lation. quod paucis in promptu sit. Mores cito corrumpuntur¹ homi-
num, quibus ante oculos quotidiana sævitiae, pravitatis, negli-
gentiae, sanguinis ac flagellorum obversetur species: quibus Bad moral
effects of
slavery on
the
masters. servos quotidie conculcare solitis obedientia ignota atque tem-
perantia, ignavia laborisque odium tempus occasionesque ad
libidinem quamvis satiandam largiatur: quos constans metus
constantem quoque a prima ætate armorum usum docuerit^m,
inter se pugnaces iracundosque redditurus: inter quos nulla
sermonis scribendive libertas, nisi servitutem pro re divina
et munimento Reipublicæ laudare parato, animusque homi-
num in fœdissimum jugum subigatur, quum insolentiam
dominorum, desperatam servorum pravitatem inter metum
atque insaniam tam diu defenderit ut jam mendaciis prope
crediderit suisⁿ: hæc mala omnibus nisi paucis atque indies
paucioribus incita divitiarum contemptu liberalique^o, quem
fingunt, hospitii amore ægre compensantur. Accedit quod Degradation of the
mean
whites. pauperrimis istis inter liberos^p, fæci populi rapide crescenti,
quibus ad servos emendos non satis, labor tamen turpis vide-
atur, conditio prope quam servorum pejor. Hi in extremum
redacti inopiæ, interdum famis, incredibili ignorantia op-
pressi, superstitionibus fœdis, Indis vix meliores rudissimis-
que hominum, per colles vastasque Meridionalium solitudines
precariam vitam per breves interdum operas, saepius per ven-
ationem, rapinam, vetitamque cum servis mercaturam exqui-
rentes, ab omnibus pro dedecore terræ ac summa peste habiti
odium ubique injiciunt ac terrorem, modo ne servos ignaviæ

^k Ludlow, p. 189-192, and the quotations there.

^l Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. v.

^m Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. ix. "To act in a spirit of cruel, violent, and pitiless vengeance, must be permitted and countenanced, as a means of self defence. Every white stripling can carry a dirk-knife in his pocket." The case of Mr. Brooks and Mr. Sumner is a good illustration.

ⁿ See Cairnes, ch. v. passim.

^o Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. viii.

^p Olmsted, *ibid.*; Miss Martineau, *History of the American Compromises*.

exemplo corrumpant, modo ne tandem aliquando jura humana per bonas artes tantum acquirenda cupere, servitium simul odisse discant: in bellum solum ac rapinam utiles, sive quum libera instituta aperta impudentia destruenda sint^q, sive quum ad aras ac focos Meridionalium contra libertatis aggressum defendendos fortitudine et pertinacia hominum sanguinolentorum abuti conveniat^r.

The danger
of the
South,
Hostility
of the
slaves, and

Neque ipsos fallit Meridionales labes rebus imminens jam intolerandis et in ruinam pronis. Hostem in sinu reipublicæ per tot annos nutritum^s, et ni opprimatur, ipsum olim dominos deleturum jam etiam ægre cohiberi testantur improba mendacia Meridionalium, testatur infandus ignis^t, necessarius fictæ securitatis custos, testatur continua novorum munerum a Septentrionalibus flagitatio. Quantula spes populo, cuius altera pars alteri aperte hostilis sit, in quo labor aut pro intolerando onere aut pro summo dedecore habeatur, cuius dimidia pars nihil a legibus nisi injuriam experitur, et quem Vicinity of per sua instituta labantem urgeat insuper^u diversissimorum the Northern hominum vicinia, qui diu potestatem servitio fultam ac novas population. semper appetentem terras ægre ferentes nunc ei apertis armis resistant? Opponuntur inter se duæ morum institutorumque conditiones, quæ una vigere nequeant^x: ignavia industriæ,

^q As in the case of the Kansas war. Inf. p. 35.

^r As in the present war.

^s The imminent perils of the state of society entailed by negro slavery are powerfully set forth in a speech in the Virginian Legislature, by Mr. Faulkner, delivered 1832; at a time when the Virginians were discussing the policy of emancipation. See also Tocqueville, vol. i. ch. xviii. "Present and future condition of the Negroes."

^t "The late Judge Jay told me that he had evidence in his possession of negro burnings every year in the last twenty." Olmsted, vol. ii. p. 354 note.

^u Olmsted, vol. ii. ch. ix.

^x This is strongly insisted on by the South. See an extract from the Richmond Inquirer, quoted in Cairnes, ch. vi. "Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men, coexist and endure. The one must give way and cease to exist; the other must be universal. If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall."

inopia divitiis, scientiae ignorantia, summæ alacritati laboris contemptus, sermonis agendique libertati fœdum animi corporisque servitium, rudi barbariae pacis artes: certamen jam inde a Reipublicæ origine impendens ac debitum, sœpe timore aut perfidia aut cæcitate Septentrionalium dilatum, donec tandem eruptum anxia totius mundi studia in bellantes diviserit.

Jam diversitatis causa breviter descripta in eo sumus ut præterita repetentes discordiarum inter Meridionales Septentrionalesque cursum ab initio perstringamus: æternam Meridionalium novi agri sitim indies provenientem, Septentrionales ignaros primum aut oblitos, deinde obtemperantes, metuque percusos hominum secessionem identidem minantium: leges in usum Meridionalium factas ac mox ruptas, dum plerique Septentrionalium stupent securitati aut lucro intenti, pauci contra ruinam imminentem vocem attollunt. Rempublicam denique Americanam a primis fere annis usque ad hoc certamen a servitii defensoribus conculcatam et corruptam, fictæque concordiæ injuriam tandem justo bello compensatam, quod Americam pergaturum certe si non in vanam magnitudinem restituturum inter spem metumque trepidi optamus.

Meridionalibus post emptam Louisianam provectamque, ut supra diximus, gossypii culturam fortuna ac divitiæ crescere ^y: intraque decem annos duæ Civitates in sinum Reipublicæ admissæ ac servili labori traditæ, duæ Septentrionalibus libertatiæ datae, magnitudinem ac discordiarum causas Americæ augebant. Septentrionalibus tamen inter hæc ex Anglico bello res in pejus labi, stulto quidem illo ^z et e vana perpetuæ pacis spe orto, tamen quod ex uno prælio ^a nomini Americano ducisque Jacksonii nobili audaciæ gloriam addiderit, qui libertinis civium nomen atque Reipublicæ gratias pro rebus gestis conferret. Vix quinque post hoc præterierant anni, quum

iii. History of the threatened disruptions and compromising of the American Union.

^y Times, January 4. 1861, "History of Slavery," &c.

^z De Witt, p. 359.

^a The battle of New Orleans, at the beginning of 1815.

Affairs of the South after the purchase of Louisiana.

Affairs of the North —war of 1812. Free Negroes called citizens by Jackson.

Threatened ingens inter Septentrionales Meridionalesque certamen orie-
contest on batur. *Æ*quus utrisque jam Civitatum numerus: æqua in
the ques-
tion of the
admission
of Missouri
as a State.
Senatu potestas^b. In eo res erat, quum Missuriensis, partem
Louisianensis agri juxta Missurim Mississippimque flumina
sitam incolentes, societatem Reipublicæ petebant. Metu an-

Import-
ance of the
question to
the South.
tradenda esset. Maxime incumbebant Meridionales pro suis
institutis timentes, quorum sustinendorum nulla spes nisi in
Senatu ac per Præsidem summam Reipublicæ potestatem te-
nentibus. Augebant trepidationem aliæ duæ regiones^c mox
Reipublicæ partes futuræ ac cessuræ statim in servitium, si

Position of
Missouri
Missurienses servilem laborem admisissent. Situs Missurien-
sium in utrumque egregius^d: qui si libero labori traderetur,
aditum in Occidentem daret facillimamque coloniis viam, quæ
possent per magna flumina, Mississippem, Missurim, Arkan-
sam usque ad Texas mitti: si servitium admitteret, libertatis
cursus Septentrionalibus præcideretur, servili simul labore Me-

Long dis-
putes,
arguments
on both
sides—of
the South.
ridionalibus in perpetuum imposito. Acrem utrumque dis-
ceptionem res per duos annos excitabat. Contendebant
Meridionales^e servitium in cæteris Louisianae partibus nun-
quam impeditum fuisse, nec licere quidem Reipublicæ rem
talem moderari, quæ cuique Civitati privati juris esset. Veti-
tam sane in Septentrionalibus regionibus servitutem, verum
duobus ante conditam Rempublicam annis et sub antiquis
illis legibus, quarum auctoritas jam obsoluisset. Dicebatur
contra penes esse Rempublicam novis Civitatibus in re tam
gravi suas conditiones imponere, ac servitium, si ab iis non

^b Times, as above. Miss Martineau, *History of the American Compromises*. Cairnes, ch. vii. It is remarkable that Tocqueville, in his chapter on the “Chances of Duration of the Union,” though he gives some space to the South Carolina conflict, says nothing of the Missouri question; one apparently of far more perilous import.

^c Arkansas and Florida.

^d Cairnes, ch. vii.

^e The arguments used on both sides are given in the “Life of Henry Clay” to 1848, by Sargent, thence to 1853 by Horace Greely; published 1853, pp. 83-93.

posset excludi civitatibus quibus jam summo imperio confirmatum esset, licere tamen e novis regionibus, quæ jura societatemque Reipublicæ peterent, lege publica expellere, quod jam in Septentrionalibus illis civitatibus sub antiquo jure et debiliore legum auctoritate factum esset: aptam sane quibusdam civitatibus servilem culturam esse: at quorsum illam regioni imponere, in qua liberorum labore haud minus fore fructuosum? ecquid a republica in libertatem creata magis abhorrere quam ut vincula ab altero hominum genere alteri injuria imposita latius extenderentur, quorum onus tandem levatum iri elari Reipublicæ conditores haud dubie sperarent, quum servitutis exitio omni modo, quamvis frustra, providissent? Hæc omnibus Reipublicæ negotiis diu incumbebat quæstio, acri utrimque ira disceptata et ruinam disceduumque minans, dum delegatorum domus frustra pro libertate Senatui resistebat: donec tandem rebus laborantibus remedium Clayii ingenio quæsitus esset, quod omnes nisi Missouri Compromise, worked out by Clay, 1820. prudentissimi æternum fore sperarent. Admissa in Missuriam servitus, cauto simul ne in futurum ultra^f certos fines unquam progrederetur. Ita gravi discordiæ libertatis ac servitutis frustra medebantur, quam tum primum quanta esset sensisse primos in republica viros testatur optimi cujusque^g trepidatio ac terror nova pericula atque improbam Meridionalium ambitionem ominantis, præcipue vox illa quam supremos inter annos Jeffersonus^h quasi libertatis næniam et inevitabilis ruinæ augurium prodidit, “moram id esse mali, non effugium.” Pax sane fallax, quæ fine servitium inter et libertatem fixo, novarum tantum omine discordiarum, malo mox rursus erupturo inania fomenta afferret.

Auctæ inde Meridionalibus vires ac superbia, servitutique novus color datus, quæ non jam pro malo vi Americanis im-

Effects of the Compromise.

^f 36° 30' N. L.

^g Miss Martineau, “American Compromises.”

^h See De Witt, p. 365.

posito, sed pro jure nequaquam impediendo ac latius, si res ita ferret, extendendo haberetur. Pulchri mox spectabantur effectusⁱ, servitium in Floridam Arkansasque latum, jam civitates reipublicæ futuras, ac cum Indis Seminolensibus, quorum tutelam et connubia servi fugitivi petissent, bellum susceptum, servorumque venatio liberae Septentrionalium juventuti imposita.

Slavery in Florida and Arkansas. Seminole War.

Presidency of General Jackson, 1829.

Tariff question. How connected with that of Slavery.

Rebellion of South Carolina, 1832.

Conduct of Jackson.

Post rem Missuriensem vix duodecim anni præterierant, quum sub Præside Jacksonio nova oriebatur quæstio, Reipublicæ stabilitatem ac summam auctoritatem legum quam maxime labefactatura. In servili terrarum cultu quam rarus luxus et voluptatum nisi paucissimis usus sit, jam antea monstravimus^k; unde facile intellexeris vectigalia mercibus adventiciis imposta, quamvis prosint Septentrionalibus, Meridionalibus quam maxime nocere. Sane rebus opificum post Anglicum bellum laborantibus^l, modica vectigalia, quo melius industriæ Americanæ consuleretur, cum pleno Meridionalium consensu mercibus externis imposta erant. Hæc tamen postea, reclamantibus plerisque inter Meridionales, sensim augeri, donec tandem Carolinenses Meridionales^m, injuriam legis acriter questi fortunamque suam per servitium labentem ægre videntes, Reipublicæ auctoritati verbis primum deinde armis aperte resisterent. Qui quum conventu habito legem, duce Calhounio, promulgassent qua acta Reipublicæ plane rescinderentur vectigaliumque vetaretur perceptio, milites comparabant vim, si opus foret, vi opposituri. Profert Jacksonius contra Civitatis audaciam vetera argumenta, Reipublicæ historiam repetens atque commune imperium sibi ab Ameri-

ⁱ "American Compromises." Cairnes, ch. vii.

^k Sup. p. 29. Ludlow, p. 150-155.

^l The history of the American tariffs is given in Spence, "American Union," pp. 166-197. See also "Letters to Lieutenant Maury," by Cowell, in which the Southern cause is warmly defended.

^m The history of this affair is given in Ludlow, pp. 135-148. See also Tocqueville, chapter on "Chances of the Duration of the Union," at the end of vol. i.

canis impositum, non fœdus modo inter Civitates initum acriter contendens; navem simul mittit ad rebellionem comprimendam, et pusillum Reipublicæ exercitum colligit. Carolinenses pari audacia iterum reclamare, imminebatque bellum civile et Reipublicæ discidium, timebatur enim ne Meridionales trepidi et contra Septentrionalium crescentem prosperitatem iracundi se cum Carolinensibus conjungerent. Proximo anno docta Websterii eloquentiaⁿ contra audaciam Calhounii jura Reipublicæ in Curia clare defendebat. Tandem finis per Virginiensium opem tumultui allatus, et res rogatione Clayii componebatur, providente ut per decem annos futuros vectigalium onus sensim minueretur. Victoriam a Civitate the Federal Authority, 1833. relatam indicabat rei totius a Republica concessio, auctaque vana lege in periculum jam præteritum Præsidis munera, quæ a Carolinensibus, jus legum interpretandarum iterum sibi reclamantibus, statim abrogata est. Grave per hæc Reipublicæ vulnus datum, cui pax cum Civitate facta merum obsequium sonaret; atque ita jam mutata rerum facies, ut secessio posthaec pro jure haberetur conjunctionisque^o commoda in apertam disceptationem venirent. Neque amplius jam pudebat quærere imperiumne esset in Republica a toto populo sibi impositum, an mera societas quam pro se iniisset quæque Civitas atque ipsa posset abrumpere.

Et Carolinenses quidem ita de legibus triumphabant: Me-
ridionalibus autem in re vectigali nullum apparebat concordia^p fundamentum. Acrius urgebantur servitio, communi omnium the South.

ⁿ See the Biographical Memoir prefixed to the Works of Webster, vol. i. p. civ. and onwards, and the speech of Webster delivered at the beginning of 1833.

^o See an article by Miss Martineau in Macmillan's Magazine, June 1862, called "the Brewing of the American Storm."

^p "Calhoun declared this year that the Southern Slave States could never be united to the Northern ones on the tariff question; alleging that the sugar interests of Louisiana, which bounds her to the North, would keep her off. The basis of Southern Union," he said, "must henceforth be shifted to the slavery question." Ludlow, p. 148.

State of
Virginia.

Michigan
applies for
admission
into the
Union.
1835-6.

Functions
of the
Supreme
Court
usurped by
the Con-
gress under
Southern
influence.

peste et quæ indies jam ingravesceret ^q. Jam tum Virginianenses, quibus crescente servorum multitudine prosperitas rapide laberetur, anxia distrahebat disceptatio utrum servos expediret liberare ^r, nec Madisonio ^s, seni jam et pessimam morum conditionem spectanti, quidquam inter desperationem et vana remedia apparebat. Gliscere interea inter omnes Meridionales trepida in Reipublicæ auctoritatem invidia, quæ duobus post rem Carolinensem annis clarior ostendebatur. Michiganenses ^t societatem Reipublicæ petebant. Hi plus quam triginta antea annis Ohiensibus, et postea Indianaæ, cum debiles essent ad resistendum, partem finium suorum concesserant, cum hac tamen compensatione, ut partem Wisconsinensis agri in ulteriore Michigani lacus parte sitam acciperent. Ad Wisconsinensem terram ita minuendam Meridionales maxime incumbebant, ne scilicet tanta foret ut duas postea Civitates et quattuor suffragia servitio hostilia senatui præberet. Michiganenses tandem quum populo opibusque aucti societatem quærerent Reipublicæ, rem sese ad supremos Reipublicæ judices, quorum justa in re tali auctoritas, relatuos declarabant.

Interea tamen per Meridionalium artes judicum potestatem Concilium invadit, Michiganensibusque societas ac jura Reipublicæ promissa, modo desinerent agros vindicare ac de lite cederent. Resistere primum tantæ injuriæ Michiganenses, at paucos post menses fraude ac tumultu victi in Rempublicam veniunt, cum cæteris civitatibus gloriae partem aut dedecoris accepturi, quibus contemptus sanctissimo Americanorum tribunalim impositus novam infamiam et labores præsagiebat.

^q Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 480, notes the “deep seated uneasiness and ill defined agitation,” observable in the South about this time.

^r See the speech of Faulkner, referred to above.

^s For Madison's views, see “the Brewing of the American Storm,” referred to above. The chief among the “vana remedia” was the “Colonization Society,” much patronised both by Madison and Clay; see “Life of Clay,” pp. 290-296.

^t For this affair, see “History of the American Compromises.”

Meridionalibus autem, quum immineret jam veteri cuique ¹⁸³⁵⁻¹⁸⁴⁰ Civitati sub servili cultura ruina, per prementem indies magis atque magis novi agri famem spes atque audacia cum periculo crescere. Post fœdus Missuriense præcludebantur servitio Septentrionalium terræ ^u: restabant tamen immensa ad Occidentem ultra Arkansas spatia, ac meridiem versus Texæ, vasta regio et spes ingens novum agrum appetentibus, et regnum Mexicanorum. In Texis ^x, Mexicanorum provincia, servitium lege vetitum erat, nec quidquam odium magis aut metum incolarum movebat. Haud minus fixum fuit Americanis consilium Texas in servitutem redigendi: et jam in terra ^y libertati dedicata fœdæ machinationes apparebant, agri per municipiorum auctoritatem contra leges muneri accepti, introducti per occultum servi, rebelliones contra Mexicanorum imperium excitæ, Americanorum tutela oblata, quascunque injurias fortiorum pravitas in infirmiores movere solet. Domi interea res in apertum hominum sermonem venire, nec pudebat de atroci consilio quasi de re summæ justitiae atque humanitatis disserere. Neque omnino tamen tacebat libertatis vox ^z. Eminebat jam parva virorum manus, qui servitium ut nefas summa fortitudine insectabantur, et qui in republica quidem, ubi sanciretur servitus, nunquam versati tamen per ardentem pertinaciam Meridionalibus odium ac terrorem vel nomine suo audito injecerint; qui postea nobiles pro libertate projecerint animas, præcipua Septentrionalibus ornamenta atque irritamenta virtutis: qui per famam idem atque infamiam, defecctionem et dubitationem amicorum perstantes nunc tandem in se spes et studia servitii hostium converterint; tum obscuriores quidem atque ignoti, nec tamen adeo sine vi ut non possent

New designs of the South. Prospect of annexing Texas.

Religious horror of the Abolitionists now coming into prominence.

^u "American Compromises."

^x For the Texan affair and War with Mexico, see Cairnes, ch. vii.; Life of Clay, pp. 226, &c.; "American Compromises;" Ludlow, Lecture V. & VI.

^y "American Compromises," Cairnes, ch. vii.

^z For the conduct of the Abolitionists see particularly "American Compromises."

1837-1838.
Pertinacious petitioning for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Right of petition lost through the "Gag Bill" of Calhoun.

Petitions for dissolution of the Union, and against the provision for Slave Representation.

1844.
Violent scheming for the Annexation of Texas.

Meridionales in violentiam contemptumque legum perpetuo clamore impellere. Situs est circa Washingtonum ager Columbianus, parvum terrae spatium in usus atque auctoritatem Reipublicæ a duabus Civitatibus concessum. In hunc semper incumbebat certamen servitii et libertatis; si in agro Columbiano exstaret servitium, præcipue si venderentur servi, frusta negares servitutem lege Reipublicæ sanciri. Ergo libertatis amici Reipublicæ Concilium pertinaci prece urgere, ut hoc saltem e tractu servitium expelleret. Restabat nihil nisi ut jus ipsum precationis invaderetur. Rogavit Calhounius^g, cui servitus pro fundamento haberetur civilis libertatis, ut nullæ precationes de hac re ullo modo agentes a Senatu acciperentur; atque in epistolas etiam inquisitio data, ut comburerentur si quæ servitium hostiliter tractarent. Ita, reclamante frusta contra inauditam injuriam Adamsii, Præsidis antiqui, sententia, tumultum ac discordiam imminentem opprimebant, ac ne libertatis vox audiretur, legibus etiam imponebatur servitus. Crebrescit tamen dissensio, ac primum precari quidam ex Septentrionalibus ut Respublica dissolveretur, deinde ut leges emendarentur per quas fictus servorum numerus Meridionalium censui additus esset. Hæc singulari Meridionalium insolentia accepta. Ac jam magis atque magis servitii necessitates malam hominum cupidinem in Texas convertebant. Omnia opportunissima videbantur; factæ erant jam longum post bellum Texanos inter Mexicanosque indutiæ^h, fractique opibus et potestate ambo pacem exspectabant, quæ per opem Gallorum Anglorumque parabatur. Nec minus terrebat Americanos Britannorum interventus, qui servitio aperte hostilesⁱ liberam rempublicam ipsis in Meridionalium finibus constituere mina-

^g Ludlow, p. 183. Miss Martineau, "Brewing of the American Storm."

^h Ludlow, p. 207.

ⁱ Calhoun's ground in the matter of Texas was "that it would make an exposed frontier, and if Great Britain succeeded in abolishing slavery there, the frontier would not be safe against the aggressions of the abolitionists;" see Webster's speech of March 7, 1850.

rentur. Fautores servitutis tanquam ^k arcem Meridionalium ac fundamentum Reipublicæ Texarum occupationem laudare, quibusdam¹ etiam inter hoc et secessionem nihil medium esse dictitantibus, Calhounius ut necessariam ad arcendos Britanniæ ac libertatis aditus flagitare. Pro hoc omnia Meridionalium discrimina in coneordiam cedebant. Septentrionalium dividebantur studia, plerisque bellum aversantibus, cupientibus tamen qui luero ac spoliis intenti in verba Polkii Præsidis jurassent. Succedenti in summum honorem illo res ad optatum finem perducitur; primum per machinationes mota, mox aperto Conciliorum decreto, quo Texæ Reipublicæ Americanæ adiunguntur, proviso^m simul ut quinque civitates, si res ita ferat, ex illis fiant, exercitus in Mexicam mittitur, declaratur bellum, Texanis imponitur servitus, et fines eorum ipsis flagitantibus usque ad Rivum Grandem contra jus omne extenduntur. Septentrionales per suorum defctionem fiunt ad resistendum debiles: ac servitii hostes igni, flagello, sicæ, omni probrorum generi interea expositi partem reipublicæ omnino detrectantⁿ.

Calhoun frightened by Anti-Slavery declaration of Great Britain.

Division at the North.

Polk President.

1845. Resolution for annexing Texas passed.

Persecution of the Abolitionists.

Primus belli annus insigni Americanorum fortuna et infelici fortitudine famosus. Tum Præses a Senatu summam numerorum magnam ad fœdus componendum rogat. Prodebat nefarium consilium nova etiam terrarum spatia ultra incertos Texarum fines cupientium, quæ servitio traderentur: ac res crebra indignatione quorundam accepta, qui bellum antea decreverant^o, nunc autem perterriti ægre ferrent sanguinem civium atque opes pro servitute projici. Hi quum Sumnerio

Mexican War. Success of the Americans.

Part of the Northern Democrats shamed

^k Life of Clay, pp. 334-335.

¹ "Texas or Disunion," became a common 4th of July toast this year. Ludlow, p. 210.

^m Resolution 3, sect. 2, (quoted by Webster, speech of March 7, 1850,) "New States of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to the said State of Texas . . . may hereafter, by consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof," &c.

ⁿ "American Compromises."

^o Life of Clay, p. 336-7. Webster's Speech, "American Compromises, &c."

into oppos- ducente Concilium iniissent^p, rogabant statim ut servitium
ing the ex- ab omni regione excluderetur, quæ a Mexicanis in fine belli
tension of Slavery.
Formation fuissest acquisita. Huic rogationi in Delegatorum domo iden-
there byof tidem assentiebatur, Senatus toties resistebat; nec deerat
the "Free
Soil party." irrisio in homines qui victoriae quondam cupidi venturæ,
1848.

Treaty of
Guada-
loupe-Hi-
dalgo,
which ends
the Mexi-
can War.
Vast ter-
ritory ceded
to the
United
States

Free Go- vernment given to Oregon.

Question of
the boun-
daries of
Texas.

General
Taylor Pre-
sident

ducente Concilium iniissent^r, rogabant statim ut servitium ab omni regione excluderetur, quæ a Mexicanis in fine belli fuisse acquisita. Huic rogationi in Delegatorum domo idem-
tidem assentiebatur, Senatus toties resistebat; nec deerat irrigio in homines qui victoriae quondam cupidi venturæ, partam exsequi timerent. Mox foedus cum Mexicanis factum, quo immensa illa regio, hinc a Texis usque ad Oceanum Pacificum, illinc a Mexicæ finibus ad Oregonem extendens, Reipublicæ addita est: spes ingens istis^a Meridionalium Civitatis, quarum res per servitutem lapsæ nunc servis solum in usum cæterorum gignendis et venditione eorum sustine-
rentur. Oriebatur statim atrox certamen, servili an libero labore tanti agri tradendi essent. Res Oregonensium primum disceptatae; roganibus Meridionalibus ut finis in Missuriensi foedere servitio impositus usque ad Pacificum Oceanum ex-
tenderetur. Cum hoc recusatum esset Calhounius^r furens omnia minari, dum leges a Septentrionalibus contra Meri-
dionalium instituta factas memorat. Servitus tandem ab Oregonè excluditur: at restabant gravissimæ quæstiones, in-

certi Texarum fines, et res Novæ Mexicæ Californiæque nec pro servitio nec pro libertate adhuc constitutæ. Incumbere omni vi Meridionales ut fines confirmarentur ficti, quos terræ suæ Texani imponebant: et jam propior audiri ruina, cum novus Præses, dux in bello Mexicano nuper insignis, qui improba eorum mendacia pulcre discerneret, vim^s parabat vim jam aperte minitantibus opponere. Ingravescente indies discordia Meridionalium audacia in majus prorumpit. Quin novam Mexicam etiam in Texarum ditionem redigere atque

⁹ This provision was called "the Wilmot proviso."

¹ Cairnes, p. 115, 116. Virginia became the chief slave-breeding State.

⁷ He said that if the Union were to perish, the historian would "devote his first chapter to the ordinance of 1787, the next to the Missouri Compromise, and the next to the present agitation. Whether there will be another beyond," he added, "I know not." Ludlow, p. 223.

* "Life of Clay," p. 337.

servitium in Septentrionales regiones inferre sperabant. Septentrionales inter dubiam amicorum virtutem aut defectionem ægre resistunt. Tandem ad vetus remedium et Clayum, fictæ pacis toties artificem, configubiebatur. Et ille verus patriæ amator nec satis tamen ad desperandum audax dum morbo omnia jam remedia recusanti mederi studet, miram rogationum congeriem ad Senatum refert, quarum sensim et quoctunque modo omnes prope postea confirmabantur. Senatus vehementissima utrumque disceptatione distrahi, armaque etiam in Curia visa. Meridionales magis atque magis petulanti insolentia contra ambitionem ac perfidiam Septentrionalium invehi, Reipublicæ discidium aperte minari: Calhounius^t morbo fractus supremosque inter dies furiosior et de servitio et summa rerum desperans ruinam ominatur Reipublicæ, ac pro solo laborum remedio duplicem Rempublicam duos Præsides et duo Concilia proponit^u: vir ad ardua natus et fortitudinis rigidæque Spartanorum disciplinæ amantissimus, et qui audax ad extrema suorum consilia comprehensa primus semper et interdum præmature pro servitute incubuisset, ad opprimendam libertatis vocem quoctunque modo paratus; atque nunc suorum institutorum ruinam bene prævidens et desperatione victus moreretur. Resonabant interea Clayii et Websterii sententiæ, concordiam commendantes hominibus quibus Deus ac Natura jamdiu insanabilem discordiam interposuissent. Præcipue Websterius, dum causas irarum memorat, cæcam prodit desperationem. Querebantur Meridionales auctum suis impensis Septentrionalium prosperitatem, cunctationem in servis reddendis, violentas contra servitium preces atque invectiones: Septentrionales servitutem a Meridionalibus contra Reipublicæ leges extensem ac pro summo bono libertatisque fundamento aperte

1850. Clay applied to for another Compro-
mise.

His "Om-
nibus Bill."

Violent
debates.

Last speech
of Calhoun.

Character
of Calhoun,
his despair
and death.

Speech of
Webster,
March 7.

^t A graphic account of Calhoun is given in "The Brewing of the American Storm," by Miss Martineau.

^u Ludlow, p. 230.

laudatam, servilem ignorantiam ac stuporem impudentissimis mendaciis acri Septentrionalium labori industriæque prælatum, liberos e liberis civitatibus Afros carcere inclusos, si quando Meridionalium portus tetigissent. In tali discordia memoranda ipse in defendenda libertate anceps et Meridionalibus obtemperans dum Septentrionales in modestiam trepide hortatur et secessionem fore sine bello negat, optimo cuique dolorem ac trepidationem perfidia sua inspirat, nec rursus de merita infamia erigitur^x: at duobus posthac annis fracta spe et de summo honore plurium consensu dejectus præ angore occumbit. Et Clayius nulla spe expleta et præcipitatem videns discordiis debitibus Rempublicam, quas ipse toties falsis foviisset remediis, paullo ante Websterium decessit, felix qui non extremas Meridionalium improbitates ac præsentem patriæ ruinam spectaverit.

Res Texana post multam disceptationem tandem componebatur, non sine æterno vulnere Reipublicæ inficto, et cum apertis Meridionalium questibus, qui dissolutionem fœderis sancti^y quondam nunc invisi precarentur, ac diversas leges diversis populis flagitarent. Concessum Septentrionalibus ut California libera in ditionem Reipublicæ cederet, nec servi amplius in agro Columbiano venderentur: Meridionalibus datum ut in duabus novis Civitatibus, Uta ac Mexica nova, servitium non prohiberetur: ut Texani fines suos ad Rivum Grandem extenderent: ut servi mutuo inter Civitates commercio venderentur, donec ipsis civitatibus aliter visum fuisse, denique ut servi in Septentrionales regiones libertatemque fugientes semper dominis redderentur. Exstiterat sane in primis Reipublicæ annis lex talis, sed quum servitium in omnibus civitatibus floreret, neque injustum esset servum

^x "American Compromises."

^y "The Secessionist 4th of July toasts at the South ranged this year from 'The Union, a splendid failure of the first modern attempt by people of different institutions to live under the same government,' to 'The Union—once a holy alliance, now an accursed bond.' " Ludlow, p. 235.

Close of
the career
of Clay and
Webster.

Compro-
mise of
1850.
Restless-
ness of the
South.

New and
stringent
Fugitive
Slave Law.

ab uno domino ad alium effugientem in propriam ditionem restitui. At post Missuriense fœdus quum, servitio ultra certos fines prohibito, servus non in vincula sed in libertatem effugeret, nefas erat talem servare legem, nedum majoribus fulcire auxiliis. Tamen sub nova lege gravibus poenis affiebatur quicumque servum fugitivum reddere recusavisset. Ac si servus per judicium in libertatem vindicaretur, magna judici præmia dabantur si pro domino, parva si pro servo decerneret. Alia in eadem optimo cuique horrorem et reluctationem inspirabant. Nimium etenim lex ista Meridionalibus triumphum dabat, quæ præsentem^x eorum dominationem usque ad focos Septentrionalium perferret ac dormitantem excitaret virtutem. Sequuntur rixæ ubique et violentia, Bostoni Philadelphiaeque tumultus, supremæ auctoritatis a duabus Civitatibus rejectio, Carolinæ exemplum in re nobiliore secutis; creberrima servorum in Canadam effugia, Meridionalium questus ac furor, Septentrionalium recusationes: ac tandem unius mulieris^y ingenio servitium omnium per terrarum orbem conspectui sanguinolentum ac foedissimum exponitur. Per hæc atque talia Meridionalem insolentiam justa Nemesis ulciscebatur. Illis restabat nihil, nisi ut potestati suæ novis terris acquirendis nova auxilia quærerent. Crebrescere ubique nova atque inaudita rapinæ consilia, et ad^z Cubam Mexicamque etiam domandam tumultus per nefarios homines trepida audacia excitabantur. Artes Meridionalium in Novam Mexicanam Utamque inferri: aliqua etiam per Walkerum inferioris Californiæ spes. Res tamen illis Septentrionem versus dubiæ: longus terrarum tractus Missuriensi fœdere servitio præclusus: densæ^a migrantium ab Europa catervæ affluebant,

Its effects
in kindling
the virtue
and indig-
nation of
the North.

Fresh de-
signs of the
South.

^x For the effects of the Fugitive Slave Law, especially among the New England descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, see Ludlow, pp. 236-243, and "American Compromises."

^y Mrs. Stowe.

^z Ludlow, pp. 244, 245.

^a The sudden rise of the "Know-nothings," and their watchword "America

ac nova civium multitudo novas civitates libertati additura erat.

Hopes of Kansas and Nebraska. Certissima^b spes erat Kansas ac Nebraskam in servitium redigendi, regiones Missuriæ ab occidente et Septentrione adjacentes, ac quæ mox in Reipublicæ ditionem cessuræ essent. Obstabat tantum Missuriense fœdus, sub quo Kansæ extra legitos servitii fines jaceret. Atque illud quidem per Meridionalem virum et in Meridionalium usum erat compositum: quorsum servare quod jam iisdem incommodum esset? Summa audacia consilium legis abrogandæ suscepitur. Prima rogatio, ut leges Nebraskæ constituerentur, ut nimis innocens subita arte dilata est. Deinde, Concilio iterum convocato et omnibus jam paratis, a Douglassio, homine ad talia aptissimo et qui semper Meridionalibus serviret, rogabatur de novo ut quum Novæ Mexicæ atque Utæ liberum arbitrium servitii accipiendi aut rejiciendi datum esset, idem jus omni novæ Civitati, et præcipue Kansis et Nebraskæ, lege Doctrinae of concederetur. Subrogatum itaque legi Missuriensi, qua servitium ultra certos fines a regione Louisianensi in perpetuum excluderetur, quod "in hac regione, sive ut una Civitas sive ut plures in ditionem Reipublicæ cesserit, servitium accipiatur aut prohibeatur, prout in legibus singularum Civitatum præscriptum fuerit." Intra duos menses lex nefaria per turpes artes confirmata est, et constituebatur in posterum servitutem e Reipublicæ auctoritate in singularum Civitatum ditionem cessisse.

Race for possession of Kansas. The free settlers flock into it.

Apparebat maximus Meridionalibus triumphus, at tumultus atque infamia publicorum virorum et bellum civile propius immebat. Restabat Septentrionalibus hoc tantum, ut Kansas

for the Americans," was owing to American jealousy of the European emigrants. After signalizing its existence by riot and bloodshed, the party speedily collapsed. See Ludlow pp. 257, 258.

^b The story of Kansas and Nebraska is well told by Cairnes, ch. vii; Miss Martineau, "American Compromises;" and in full detail in two Lectures by T. Hughes. See also the "Life and Letters of John Brown."

Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.
1854.

"squatter
sove-
reignty."

multitudine virorum immittenda ipsi in libertatem vindicarent. Nec cessabat libera juventus fertilem regionem, per ditissimum solum fluminaque ampla mercaturæ opibusque parandis aptissimam invadere. Omnia a Septentrionalibus parari: contrahebatur societas ad migrationes ab Oriente in Occidentem convertendas, in Laurentio, Kansarum oppido, maxima taberna ad colonos accipiendo ædificata, omnia simul provisa quæ ad distribuendos agros et rem recte constituendam pertinerent. Sperabatur sane plenis Septentrionalium opibus et industriæ modestiæque facilem contra raros dispersosque Meridionales triumphum fore. His tamen in inopia et feritate suorum arma suppeditabant. Jam primum apparebat pauperum istorum inter liberos usus, qui a bonis artibus præclusi per arma tantum ac rapinam viverent, et qui, quamvis per superbiam dominorum nunquam nominarentur, jam totius Meridionalium populi septem decumas constituebant. Hi jam in turmas compositi atque armis contra libertatem instructi in Kansas mittebantur. Ibi sub finem anni quo lex Douglasiana confirmata erat coloni liberi res suas ad libertatis normam composuerant, legatum in concilium Reipublicæ mittendum delegerant, ac cæteros quoque magistratus parabant eligere. Irruere subito e Missuria perditissimorum hominum turbæ, Free voters of Kansas dispersed, and a slave constitution enacted by the Border Ruffians. 1855. domum qua suffragia dabantur delere, liberos fugare colonos, in suffragii jus irrumpere, omnia miscere terrore ac tumultu. Proximo anno leges Kansis ad Missuriense exemplum et omnino ad normam servitii constitutæ, delecti legati ac magistratus: nemini suffragium dabatur nisi servitutem defendere parato, nemini præclusum qui servitii legisque Nebraskanæ amicus unum nummum die comitiorum persolveret. Dicenti contra servitium carcerem minabantur, servum fugitivum adjuvanti mortem. Terra interea libertatis hostibus tota tradita est; nec pudebat Præsidem Reipublicæ tantum sustinere nefas, Kansanorum leges ac magistratum auctoritatem sancire, arma publica et milites ad opprimendam liber-

The South send in bands of mean whites from Missouri.

1855.

The Rufians aided by the Government at Washington.

tatem mittere. Prohibere tamen nequibat quin res per publicam quæstionem exploraretur: ac missi in Kansas viri qui tandem per occultum ac summa difficultate infandam terræ conditionem magistratibus Reipublicæ renunciaverunt; combustum Laurentium, fundos atque oppida diruta, mulieres colonorum et pueros ultra fines missos, ipsorum fugas ac spes prope frustratas, dum a latronibus Meridionalibus obsessi famem ac deditiōnem, nisi mitteretur auxilium, timerent. Mox novæ colonorum catervæ a liberis Civitatibus proficisci, ac bellum civile incepturn variaque fortuna cum summa Septentrionalium præcipueque Brownii fortitudine perductum liberis colonis victoriam atque institutorum confirmationem attulit, et Meridionalibus tum primum grave vulnus inflictum, quorum audacia atque improbitas tandem domita omnium oculis feeda atque infanda pateret. Ac jam inde nova factio in Republica adolescebat, quæ contra atrox et spectatum nefas accensa firme negaret ullam posse in Republica auctoritatem servitium in novis regionibus sancire. Jam primum Septentrionales, qui plerumque lucro et voluptatibus intenti malorumque indies ante oculos crescentium obliti a Meridionalibus, opibus ac multitudine multo inferioribus, devicti essent, sese in unum conjungebant, ut servitutem comprimere saltem possent^c, si non statim extinguere. Ergo Respublica ante novi Præsidis electionem in duas partes dividebatur^d. Præponitur huic Fremontius, acri virtute atque in adolescentia doctrinæ studio, post itineribus et Californiensem patrocinio notus, quos a servitute defendisset; illi Buchananius, per turpe obsequium servitii fautoribus amicus, qui omnia dede-

Piteous state of Kansas and the free settlers. New settlers flock in.

The Slave Power at length beaten on the fields of Kansas.

Formation of the Republican Party 1856. Presidential election.

Fremont and Buchanan.

^c The exhaustion of the soil under slave cultivation makes the two ultimately identical. See the words of Judge Warner of Georgia, quoted by Cairnes, ch. vi.—“There is not a slaveholder . . . but who knows perfectly that whenever slavery is confined within certain specified limits, its future existence is doomed.”

^d “American Compromises.” This pamphlet was published at the time of the contest.

cora, bellum Mexicanum, servitutis in novas regiones propagationem, abrogationem federis Missuriensis, traditionem fugitivorum, Nebraskanam legem, comprobasset, ac denique cum Soullo^e Masonioque in Cubam coram Europa conjuravisset. Inter hos de summo honore disceptabatur: Buchananii amicis liberam servitii propagationem, Kansas servili culturae tradendas, bellum ad agrum acquirendum poscentibus, dum Fremontiani servitium in novis terris semper vetandum, libertatem Kansis, foris pacem domique prosperitatem reclamant. Ac tum ^{Republicans} quidem victi Republicanif, nec tamen adeo ut non consilia sua beaten. bona spe contra ambitionem ac necessitates Meridionalium coram populo ostenderent, atque imminens Reipublicæ periculum, nisi in servitutem cohibendam omnibus viribus incumberetur. Sub Præside Buchananio Meridionales in extrema scelera prorumpentes trepida insolentia, ut ante ruinam, ex- sultare. Et primum^g, quum res illis per paucitatem populi dubiae essent, et Septentrionalium numero indies crescente in Concilio Reipublicæ sensim opprimerentur, nec possent nisi novis servis quoconque modo conquirendis novas terras invadere, aperte in disceptationem veniebat, utrum vetito jam per quinquaginta annos commercio servi ab Africa rursus apparetur. Quin eo progrediebatur consilium ut contra leges major servorum numerus intra quattuor hos annos inferretur quam quum adhuc infanda mercatura sub Reipublicæ tutela vigeret.

Una modo restabat injuria^h, qua res labantes in ruinam impellerentur. Servus Missuriensis a domino in liberas Civitates vectus ac tum in Missuriam reportatus libertatem sibi, ut inter liberum populum versato, vindicat. Res primum ad Missurienses judices defertur, qui servum liberant; deinde

Buchanan
President.
Reopening
of the
Slave
Trade.

Dred Scott
case.
Illegal de-
cision of
the Su-
preme
Court ob-
tained by
the South.

^o Ludlow, p. 250. The conference of the three ambassadors took place at Ostend.

^f Cairnes, ch. vii.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid. Ludlow, p. 264, &c.

coram summis Reipublicæ judicibus, maximis angustissimisque legum inter Americanos custodibus, disceptaturⁱ. His a Præside ac Senatu electis et munere perpetuo stipendioque immutabili donatis committitur summa juris tutela, deferruntur ad eos quæcunque quæstiones foris inter Americanos aliosque populos, domi inter singulas Civitates aut singulos

High functions of the Supreme Court.

Civitatum diversarum incolas decernendæ oriantur. Summus honor et gravissima sane auctoritas neque cuivis committenda, quæ subtile ingenium probitatemque maximam requirat, ne leges illæ violentur, neve e difficillimis Civitatum litibus, stulte praveve judicatis, discordia aut ruina in Rempublicam trahatur. Quin sine his Respublica nulla foret, a quibus magistratus contra Concilium, Concilium contra magistratus, Respublica contra Civitates, Civitates contra Rempublicam, publicæ contra privatas utilitates, ordo contra licentiam defendendus sit, et quorum de virtutibus atque ingenio salus rerum quam maxime pendeat. In re Michiganensi quomodo in auctoritatem eorum Concilium invasisset, antea narravimus. Nunc ipsum jus in injuriam per inauditum Taneii judicium pervertebatur, qui primus in hac re affirmare auderet libertos Reipublicæ^k non esse cives, servitium a Concilio nunquam posse prohiberi, leges Missuriensi foedere violatas esse, denique licere domino res ser-

The Democratic party breaks with the South.

vosque suos quocunque vellet importare. Hoc ne Douglassii quidem excogitasset audacia, cuius sententias Meridionales quondam amplexi nunc ut inutiles repudiarent. Lex Nebraskana novis omnibus regionibus liberum arbitrium accipiendo servitii aut rejiciendi dabat: nunc autem in agros jam liber-

ⁱ For the Supreme Court and its functions, see Tocqueville, vol. i. pp. 151-167. "The peace, the prosperity, and the very existence of the Union, are vested in the hands of the seven Judges. The President, who exercises a limited power, may err without causing great mischief to the States. Congress may decide amiss without destroying the Union. But if the Supreme Court is ever composed of imprudent men or bad citizens, the Union may be plunged into anarchy or war."

^k Ludlow, p. 265.

tati dedicatos servi ferendi erant. Turbida post hæc Reipub-
licæ species vehementius distractæ: tentata summæ injuriæ <sup>Brewing
of the
present
storm.</sup> per novas injurias ultio: lex de servorum traditione identidem
violata; in Washingtono¹ magistratum peculatus et debili-
tas: spes Cubæ acquirendæ inanes: bellum in Kansis adhuc
flagrans et in libertatis victoriam tendens: gliscens in Missuria
servitii odium; crescens indies Republicanorum potestas; po-
pulares Douglasii in Buchananum inimicitia fracti; nobilis
Brownii insaniam^m cum æmula Meridionalium exultatione per
laqueum extincta, contendentiumⁿ, ut fertur, qui funem sup-
peditarent: fax inde Septentrionalium virtuti supposita: dis-
solutio Reipublicæ aperto sermone prolata, tumultuosæ in
Washingtono res, Buchananus inter suorum dedecora^o tre-
pidans atque imbecillus: Douglasius in spem summi honoris
erectus ac dejectus statim Charlestoniensi conventu, in quo
Meridionales, præteriorum oblii dum nova atque etiam popu-
laribus invisa requirunt, fictas ab illo in re Kansana sententias
atque amicitiam ejus jam inutilem abjiciunt: spes popularium
defectione Meridionalium oppressæ: Lincolnus in conventu <sup>Lincoln the
candidate
for the
Presidency,
1860.</sup>
Republicanorum summi honoris candidatus, nimium Sewardii
ingenium detrectantium: Breckenridgus Secessionis amicis
præpositus, improbumque consilium novis jam viribus et au-
dacia per violentiam ac magnas magistratum perfidias pro-
vectum: arma navesque Reipublicæ in usus Meridionalium
disposita: res tandem per comitiorum sententias ad finem
perducta, quæ magno suffragiorum numero Lincolnum <sup>Election of
Lincoln,
and tri-
umph of
the Re-
publicans.</sup>
Præsidem Breckenridgio rejecto declararunt, Douglasii im-
probitati meritam reddiderunt solitudinem: tum Charlesto-
niensium concio, qua secessio aperte decernitur: novæ inde ^{Lincoln,}
apud Senatum turbæ, gliscens Meridionalium insolentia dum
vana fœdera proponunt, nova magistratum peccata exposita,

¹ Ibid. p. 277.^m For the heroism of John Brown, see his "Life and Letters."ⁿ Ludlow, p. 288.^o Ibid. p. 291.

nuntius denique latus arcem Sumteriam a Carolinensibus captam, et mox idem in aliis quoque arcibus ab aliis Civitatibus per imbecillitatem aut perfidiam defensorum factum: multiplicatae raptim secessiones, et nova tandem Respublica servitio fundata, cuius inter defensionem ac ruinam nihil medium inventum sit. Excitari statim in communem iram atque arma Septentrionales, quibus in secessione nihil nisi rebellio apparere posset, et qui causam satis justam belli in legum defensione reperirent, præcipue cum videretur in arcibus etiam servitii multa suffragia pro Respublica ac Lincolnio data esse.

Final
secession.

Conclusion. Per hæc atque talia, gravissimum sane omen pro libertate timentibus, res confecta, institutaque popularia in irrisione ac contemptum, ut merita discordi tandem lapsa, venere. Nos latius exquirere vix refert, ulterius conjectantes, num si tantæ dissensionum causæ abfuissent, Americanæ reipublicæ artificiosa subtilitas tantæ terrarum moli, et latentibus in se discordiarum seminibus, petulanti Civitatum insolentiæ, variis voluntatibus, ambitioni identidem erumpenti, impar fuisset. Ac legum peritis decernendum utrum jus secessio an injuria, Republicæ fœdusne esset inter Civitates factum, an lex a populo toto sibi imposita: quæstio sane multiplex et cum ipsa Respublica nata ac nunquam fortasse explicanda, quum ipsæ Meridionalium Septentrionaliumque diversitates fœdus legemve ferro perruperint. Iotas diversitates sunt qui in omnibus nisi servitio positas esse affirmantes, avaritiam Septentrionalium impositaque ab iis mercaturæ vincula semper proferant, Meridionales Anglorum studio ac favori ut liberi fautores commercii jurisque defensores commendent. Servitium sane a Septentrionalibus causas belli enumerantibus primo omissum res tamen serius ita protraxerunt, ut menti^p Præsidis in omnia, dum Respublica restitueretur, parato jam solum prope ut fons ruinæ incumbat, libertas in agro Columbiano tandem constituta sit, ac servi primum rejecti nunc in Septentrionalium

Tariffs not
really an
important
cause of
the present
struggle.

^p See especially the President's last Message.

exercitus accipientur. Mercatoria quidem res in certamine Carolinensi gravis, cum iniqua vectigalium de mercibus adventiciis perceptio potentem civitatem a Republica prope disjunxit, nec metus decesset in cæteras quoque Meridionalium regiones malum illapsurum esse, secessionisque commoda aperte disceptarentur. At Meridionales tali in causa nunquam se conjuncturos testabantur Calhounii^q verba, qui Louisianam libero commercio hostilem videret. Et majora illa vectigalia mercibus externis decem post rem Carolinensem annos imposita sensim ad nostrum usque tempus minuebantur, dum secessionis consilium in majus cresceret: nec Meridionales, in cæteris omnibus contra incertum Septentrionalium agmen tam diu potentes, in hac causa se unquam moverunt. Quin lex mercatoria nunquam illis levior quam quum ipsam secessionem meditabantur; neque Morrellianæ^r isti legi faciendæ, quam merito nunc irridentes frustra ut causam certaminis proferimus aut aderant aut absentes resistebant. Gravior sane causa turbavit Reipublicæ imbecillitatem, instituta ad libertatem et spes generis humani provehendas creatæ depravavit, indignos homines in summos honores erexit, meliorum spe et virtute oppressa, Meridionales hostem indies crescentem in sinu foventes conjunxit contra omnes nisi violentiæ obtemperare paratos impulitque ut trepida pertinacia nova sibi auxilia contra insidentem tanquam medullis morbū e Septentrionalium timore semper exprimerent, foederum ac legum violationem, traditionem servorum pœnis gravissimis compulsam, renovationem infandi commercii, judicium summorum obsequium: gravior causa tot pacis fabricandæ conatus inutiles reddidit, Septentrionalibus amatam suam Rempublicam divulsam ante oculos laceratamque projicit, civitates vicinia et consanguinitate in conjunctionem vocatas in duos divisit populos quæs jam vel

^q *Supra*, p. 25.^r The absurdities of the Morrell tariff are elaborately exposed by Mr. Spence, in the chapter on Tariffs, *American Union*, pp. 166-197.

sociari prope nefas. Servitii malum per tot ficta remedia rap-
tim crescens tumidumque jam et immensa minans Meridio-
nales, quorum nunc provocationem audimus, in arma tandem
et in orbis terrarum conspectum impulit. Atque Anglia qui-
dem, cuius operarum per famem bello compulsam summa pa-
tientia ac fortitudo enituit, dum larga liberalitate malo domes-
tico studet mederi, certaminis Americani furorem sine aperto in
alterutrum favore miratur, ad Meridionales tamen magis in-
clinans, quos ingenium suum atque vacillans Septentrionalium
imbecillitas speciem fortitudinis oppressæ amantibus commen-
daverit. In ancipiti rerum fortuna, incertoque utrum maximæ
Septentrionalium vires diversa Occidentis Orientisque commoda
cohærere permiserint, inter multam conjectandi licentiam stul-
tum augurari. Restat tantum spes longas Septentrionalium
culpas, qui per lucri studium aut nimiam Reipublicæ vene-
rationem tantam pestem foverint meliorum oblii, justiora tandem
consilia compensatura esse, nec falsum pacis desiderium debitas
ante contentiones compositurum, quam servitio comprimendo,
nendum Republica restituenda, novus rerum ordo libertatis
amantibus atque orbi terrarum aperiatur.